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## ABSTRACT

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the nineteenth century Canadian Indian lacrosse player to determine whether or not he was exploited by his European counterparts, and if so, the manner in which this exploitation occurred. Caucasian lacrosse enthusiasts sought to promote "their" game by arranging for Indian demonstrations to be staged prior to, or during, important lacrosse tournaments; as a part of fund raising ventures; and in the presence of various dignitaries and members of royalty. The colorfulness of the native and the uniqueness of his game were deliberately used to promote the Dominion abroad and to foster nationalism at home. The native athlete, in return for services rendered, received remuneration in one form or another. While the amounts may not have been substantial, they found a welcome place in the native coffer. While there were obviously some short term pay-offs for the Indian, in the long haul it was the European who stood to gain the most from native involvement in lacrosse. The white man reaped, for as long as possible, whatever dividends he was able, by exploiting the skills of the Indian on the playing field and his salability at the box-office. (Author/JD)

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## THE INDIAN ATHLETE: EXPLOITING OR EXPLOITED?

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They will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian. - William Shakespeare (The Tempest, 2.2.32)

The belief is widely held, and often fervently expressed by ethnic group spokesmen, that the dominant segment of a society tends to exploit certain groups within that society. Cries of exploitation originate as frequently from the native peoples of Canada and the United States<sup>1</sup> as they do from other indigenous races and minority groups throughout the world. As these claims apparently have some basis this paper will endeavour to examine the Nineteenth Century Indian lacrosse player to determine whether or not he was exploited by the European,\* and if so, the manner in which this exploitation occurred. Here, exploitation is defined as the utilization of somebody or something for one's own purpose. It is hypothesized that both the physical abilities and the "Indianness" of the native athlete were employed by the Anglo-entrepreneur for pecuniary gain and/or promotional reasons, until such time as the "uniqueness" of the Indian no longer served as a drawcard and his skills on the playing field were matched by those of his white counterpart. It is further hypothesized that the Indian athlete entered this scenario voluntarily and sought to take from the arena as much as he gave.

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1. See as examples, Harold Cardinal, The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians (Edmonton, M.G. Hurtig Ltd., 1969); and Dee Brown, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West (Toronto: Bantam Books of Canada Limited, 1972).

\*The term "European" is employed hereafter in reference to the Caucasian North American.

SP010 545

Historically, the English speaking peoples of North America, unlike their French countrymen, had shown little interest in traditional native pastimes, preferring to occupy their limited leisure hours with transplanted British play forms. It is therefore somewhat surprising to discover that a sudden interest in lacrosse began to develop among certain elements of the English population during the Nineteenth Century. Canada in the 1830's saw the first of many all-Indian games being staged for the benefit of the European spectator. One of the earliest to be noted by the press occurred in Cornwall, Ontario, in 1833 when eight St. Regis Indians played two matches against natives of the Caughnawaga Reserve.<sup>2</sup> While little has been recorded of these early exhibitions, a game the following year (September 24) between teams from Caughnawaga indicates that some may well have been employed as drawcards by enterprising promoters in an attempt to bolster the attendance of a particular function or establishment--in this case, the St. Pierre Race Course near Montreal.<sup>3</sup> It can be assumed that the sponsors were more concerned with boosting gate receipts than they were in promoting Indian heritage, and as such were probably willing to reimburse for services rendered. Certainly the interest generated by this contest was such that in September, 1835, the proprietor of the same establishment saw fit to offer \$100 to the victor of a four game contest between the Indians of Lake of Two Mountains and Caughnawaga.<sup>4</sup> This era would appear to herald the beginning of the professional (in a contemporary sense) Indian lacrosse player.

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2. The Montreal Gazette, August 1, 1833.

3. Alexander M. Weyand and Milton R. Roberts, The Lacrosse Story (Baltimore: Garamond/Pridemark Press, 1965), p. 13.

4. The Montreal Gazette, September 5, 1835.

The outcome of these exhibitions is perhaps not unexpected. The upper socio-economic bracket of a growing urban community like Montreal, had cast off many of the Victorian work-ethic shackles and was seeking ways in which to occupy its increased leisure hours. Clubs began to evolve to cater to these needs, one being the Olympic Athletic Club. What better way to increase membership than to promote the "unusual"? Interest aroused by Indian lacrosse exhibitions in the 1830's prompted this club to schedule games between native teams "to add variety to their program...."<sup>5</sup> These demonstrations culminated in the formation of a club team. Although there are unsubstantiated accounts of games between Europeans and Indians in Montreal as early as 1839<sup>6</sup> and an unidentified group of five red and six white lacrosse players entertained the patrons of the St. Pierre Race Course in September, 1843,<sup>7</sup> to the Montreal Olympic Athletic Club fell the dubious distinction of being the first of many European clubs to suffer defeat at the hands of the Caughnawaga, and to have it recorded for posterity. This game, played on the second day of the 1844 Montreal Olympic Games, saw the Indians win quite comfortably despite the fact that the M.O.A.C. enjoyed a two-man advantage and were supposedly superior "...in agility and swiftness."<sup>8</sup> One wonders whether this Caucasian setback would have done anything toward increasing the size of the purse from the skimpy \$10 awarded to the winner of the previous day's all-Indian contest! Similar matches held over the next decade continued to give the Europeans a physical numerical advantage--7 to 5, 25 to

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5. Nancy Howell and Maxwell L. Howell, Sports and Games in Canadian Life: 1700 to the Present (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969), p. 31.

6. W. George Beers, Lacrosse, The National Game of Canada (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1869), p. ix; and William K. Morrill, Lacrosse (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1966), p. 5.

7. The Montreal Gazette, September 30, 1843.

8. The Montreal Gazette, August 29, 1844.

20<sup>9</sup>--and not until 1851 when the Indians were handed their first defeat by these new opponents were team numbers evened. Thus, although groups of Algonquian and Iroquois continued to stage exhibition matches to the delight of urban Montreal, it is apparent that the native player was becoming less of a spectacle in lacrosse circles and being recognized more for what he really was--an excellent athlete and a worthy, if somewhat unusual, opponent. Increasingly more, his skills rather than his mere person began to attract spectators, although the latter still held a certain amount of appeal, a fact which many European promoters continued to capitalize on.

To illustrate, a certain Colonel Folsom travelled throughout the mid-west during the summer of 1868 staging exhibition games in all major urban centers.<sup>10</sup> That this trip was primarily a money-making venture is seen from the fact that the Chickasaw and Choctaw teams accompanying him played the southeastern two-stick game--a form of lacrosse that the European considered very spectacular but not worthy of adoption. Normally the sponsors of the various touring Indian troupes made no attempt to obscure their *raison d'être*. Groups, such as the one that promoted the "Indian Festival" on Toronto's Rosedale Pleasure Grounds in 1864, were concerned solely with their financial success. This two-day event saw mock war dances, and contests in target-shooting (for a \$50 prize) and footracing. A lacrosse exhibition was given each day. On July 1, the Seneca were pitted against the Blackfeet and the following day, a team of Ojibwa met the Seneca.<sup>11</sup> This type of attraction proved to be very popular throughout North America during the 1860's and apparently quite profitable if one is to judge from the size

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9. Howell and Howell, Sports and Games, p. 31; and Henry Roxborough, One Hundred - Not Out. The Story of Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966), p. 39.

10. Weyand and Roberts, The Lacrosse Story, p. 27.

11. Roxborough, One Hundred, p. 17.

of the purses offered. For example, the footraces, horse races and lacrosse games between "Canadian and American Indians," staged in St. Catharines, Ontario were occasionally contested for stakes ranging from \$1,000 to \$1,600.<sup>12</sup> It may be unfair to accuse individuals like George Catlin of employing the Indian for personal gain as his respect and admiration of the native is evident from his works.<sup>13</sup> The motive behind his trip abroad during the 1840's however, must be questioned when it is considered that he took tons of Indian artifacts in addition to his large collection of Indian paintings, and convinced a number of Iowas and Ojibwas to display themselves in all their finery and demonstrate their physical prowess before British and Continental nobility. "Last Saturday," recalled a native, "we saw the great chief of France and the great chief of Belgium. We played the Indian ballplay, shot at marks with our bows and arrows, [engaged in] false scalping, [and performed a] war dance...."<sup>14</sup> Despite the carnival-like atmosphere Catlin created in England, France and Belgium, when measured in terms of the number of paintings sold, his tour was only moderately successful. Queen Victoria is reputed to have remarked to Buffalo Bill's native performers following a display of this type; "If you belonged to me, I would not let them take you around in a show like this."<sup>15</sup>

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12. Ibid., p. 5.

13. See, for example, George Catlin, North American Indians; Letters and Notes on Their Manners, Customs, and Conditions, 2 Volumes (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1841).

14. Robin Richman, "Rediscovery of the Redman," Life, LXIII, No. 22 (December 1, 1967), p. 71.

15. Ibid.

Other members of Royalty apparently reacted more enthusiastically to this type of sideshow, as on August 27, 1860, when the Prince of Wales, seated amidst wigwams and Indian families, requested that a Montreal field be cleared of lacrosse players so that he might witness a war dance scheduled for his entertainment. However, it could well be that he simply viewed the war dance as a welcome relief from a very full afternoon of lacrosse. Earlier in the programme, a thirty man team of Iroquois defeated the same number of Algonquian players, both teams being attired "... in tights with feathers in their caps, and faces painted."<sup>16</sup> This exhibition was followed by a series of three games between the combined Montreal Lacrosse and Beaver Clubs and a combined team of Caughnawaga and St. Regis Indians, each team composed of 25 players. The first two games were won by the Indians and the third, a disputed game, was awarded to the Europeans.<sup>17</sup> Apparently Sawatis Aientonni Baptiste Canadien, a pilot on the Lachine Rapids when not captaining the Caughnawaga team, held the ball in his hand with the score tied at two-all to prevent his opponents from scoring. Following such a full afternoon of activity, one would expect the Prince to be well versed in lacrosse-- the game billed as being "peculiar to Canada [having been] derived from the Aboriginal Red Man of the Forest...."<sup>18</sup>

By the 1860's, a genuine interest had evolved in lacrosse as a game, among certain influential Europeans. While undoubtedly some continued to "line their pockets" at the expense of the native athlete, persons such as W.G. Beers were endeavouring to utilize the skills of the Indian lacrosse player to publicize and promote

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16. The Montreal Gazette, August 28, 1860.

17. Tad Stanwick, Lacrosse (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1940), p. 2.

18. The Montreal Gazette, September 13, 1860.

the game. It was towards this end that a number of international tours were undertaken. The first such groups consisted solely of Indian players under European supervision and sponsorship. The earliest of these tours is rumoured to have occurred in 1863 when a group of St. Regis players apparently visited Brooklyn.<sup>19</sup> More widely reported, however, were two separate and independent groups of Indians who left Canada for the United States and England in July, 1867. The first to depart was a privately organized group of twenty-two Caughnawaga players and two squaws<sup>20</sup> under the direction of "a speculator,"<sup>21</sup> Captain W.B. Johnson, a member of the Montreal Lacrosse Club. The group sailed from Montreal aboard the "Peruvian" on July 12 and played their first game in London on July 30. This was a private exhibition staged on the grounds of Lord Ranelagh's residence in Waltham Green. Following the match nine of the athletes ran a mile race for a purse collected by the gentlemen present.<sup>22</sup> They played their second exhibition on these grounds (August 3) and their third before a very large crowd at London's Crystal Palace (August 10) on the occasion of the German Gymnastic Society's annual festival. To cap their appearance the Indians ran a snowshoe race "...across the green turf of [the] ...Crystal Palace grounds between the upper and lower fountains."<sup>23</sup> An illustration of the finish depicts two "competitors" standing next to a goal flag, holding a lacrosse stick.<sup>24</sup> The troupe next moved to Liverpool, and from there were scheduled to travel to Scotland, Ireland and France<sup>25</sup> where they would climax their European trip with an exhibition game at the Paris World's Fair. Whether they actually completed this portion of this trip, however, is a moot point, for the newspapers allocate no additional space to the team until their

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19. Weyand and Roberts, The Lacrosse Story, p. 26.

20. Montreal Herald, July 12, 1875.

21. Ross MacKenzie, "Lacrosse," Outing (October, 1892), p. 78.

22. The Field Magazine, August 3, 1867.

23. Roxborough, One Hundred, p. 33.

24. The London Illustrated News, August 17, 1867.

25. The Field Magazine, June 22, 1867.

return to Montreal.<sup>26</sup> The success of the tour is difficult to measure. Although a number of papers reacted favourably to the London exhibitions it seems likely that, with the exception of the Crystal Palace match, the demonstrations were poorly attended. Despite the fact that the Indians were selected "more for the war-hoop-and-scalp-dance business than [for] actual hard play," their uniqueness and the novelty of the activity was not sufficient to prevent Johnson and his backers from suffering a heavy financial loss.<sup>27</sup>

The second group to leave Canada in 1867, departed Montreal July 17 for New York, Philadelphia and Boston en route to England where they were to hopefully meet with and play against Johnson's Caughnawagas. This troupe of eighteen St. Regis natives, directed by J. Gordon, was under the sanction of the Montreal Lacrosse Club.<sup>28</sup> It appears likely that Gordon's group never left North America for the last newspaper reference to them comes from Saratoga Springs, New York, where they put on a lacrosse demonstration in the fair grounds at the height of the racing season.<sup>29</sup> Given the fact that Saratoga Springs was considered an ultra-exclusive resort during this era, and that the main program of the day was horse racing, it can be speculated that the demonstration was something of a publicity stunt. Although Gordon was probably quite sincere in his attempts to introduce the game to the American public there appears to be little doubt that he was relying heavily on the "Indianness" of the game and its players to achieve his objective-- and of course, to help finance the tour!

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26. The Montreal Gazette, October 15, 1867.

27. MacKenzie, "Lacrosse," p. 78.

28. The Montreal Gazette, July 17, 1867.

29. The New York Times, August 8, 1867.

Of a similar nature was the trip undertaken by natives of the Six Nations, from their reserve in Brantford, Ontario to Troy, New York. In November, 1867, the Indians, clad in brightly colored tights and wearing feathered head dresses played an exhibition game in conjunction with Troy's "Baseball Tournament Days". On the following day, eight of the Indians played and defeated a European team from the Brooklyn Baseball Club. "Ten thousand people assembled to witness the game which was played amid a perfect storm of applause."<sup>30</sup> In this case, the promotion of baseball through increased attendance resulting from the publicity associated with the Indian lacrosse players, provided the rationale for staging the exhibitions. In return the Six Nations braves were paid in silver for their efforts.<sup>31</sup> Other promoters were quick to capitalize on a proven market. In 1869, teams of Mohawk from St. Regis and Blackfeet from Lake of Two Mountains, Quebec, played matches in New York City, Brooklyn and Jersey City. Although the 25¢ admission levied at these exhibitions was high in comparison to the average 10¢ charge for a baseball game, "...the demonstrations proved to be so profitable, that both groups of Indians remained in Brooklyn for a month."<sup>32</sup>

In Canada, lacrosse was being actively promoted by a hard core of European devotees. Indian teams were employed extensively to further this cause and the degree of success is, in part, indicated by the increased number of spectators. On September 25, 1867, Toronto played the Six Nations before 3,000 spectators at the Toronto Cricket Grounds,<sup>33</sup> while two years later, on October 11, 5,000 residents of the small community of Prince Arthur (Thunder Bay) saw the Six Nations play a combined Ontario team.<sup>34</sup> These

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30. The Montreal Gazette, November 14, 1867.

31. The Troy Daily Times, November 17, 1867.

32. Weyand and Roberts, The Lacrosse Story, p. 27.

33. Globe, September 26, 1867.

34. Weyand and Roberts, The Lacrosse Story, p. 21.

crowds, however, were dwarfed by the 38,000 reputed to have witnessed the game between a team of Squamish Indians from Vancouver and the Toronto Club during the same period.<sup>35</sup>

The increase in spectators was accompanied by the rise of integrated league and challenge competitions. Local leagues frequently included native competitors, as indicated by teams from the Delaware and Brantford Reserves who by the late 1860's - early 1870's were competing against white clubs throughout south-central Ontario.<sup>36</sup> The same was true at the Provincial and National level. The first Dominion lacrosse title contested in Montreal on July 1, 1867, saw a Caughnawaga club defeat the Montreal Lacrosse Club,<sup>37</sup> only to lose the title on November 9, to St. Regis. The latter were to successfully defend their crown against Prescott, Ontario, the following year.

Interestingly enough, the initial Dominion Day contest was to have pitted the St. Regis Indians against the Montreal Lacrosse Club, however, when negotiations between the two clubs broke down over the size of the Indians' purse, the Caughnawaga team was called upon in their place.<sup>38</sup> Of all the differences that existed between the Indian and European teams, one was readily pinpointed--the white players were amateurs, and the Indians were professionals. During the second contest for the Championship of Canada, the native athletes "neatly trimmed with feathers, war paint and war hoops"<sup>39</sup> not only played for the Dominion title, but perhaps more importantly, for a purse of \$60.00 provided by the Montreal Lacrosse Club. Roxborough reports that "in 1870 the Iroquois Lacrosse Club of

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35. Stanwick, Lacrosse, p. 2.

36. Wm. Perkins Bull, From Rattlesnake Hunt to Hockey: The History of Sport in Canada and of the Sportsmen of Peel 1798 - 1934 (Toronto: George J. McLeod Ltd., 1934), p. 356; and Roxborough, One Hundred, p. 40.

37. Beers, Lacrosse, p. 215.

38. The Montreal Gazette, June 4, 1867.

39. Ibid., November 11, 1867.

Caughnawaga played Montreal Shamrocks with the understanding that the redskins would receive \$30 if they lost and \$60 if they won. Later the latter demanded \$80 win or lose...."<sup>40</sup> This situation continued until June 1, 1880, when the Canadian National Lacrosse Association ruled the professional Indian teams ineligible to compete in future National Championships. The Indians retaliated by organizing an annual Indian World Championship. Caughnawaga held the title for the three years following its inception and then lost it to the Cornwall Island Indians who retained it for the next twenty years.<sup>41</sup>

While friction was to grow in Canada out of the amateur-professional dichotomy--a division based to a certain extent on race--the 1870's ushered in many tours designed to popularize the game internationally. Although some Indian clubs visited the United States alone, the tours abroad were integrated--at least integrated in the sense that they consisted of an Indian and a white team travelling together!

On April 29, 1876, Dr. W.G. Beers accompanied by twelve athletes from the M.L.C. calling themselves the "Dominion La Crosse Team," and thirteen Caughnawaga Indians, departed for Great Britain amidst cries of "bon voyage" from some three thousand Montrealers assembled at the Bonaventure Station.<sup>42</sup> The tour began in Belfast where "...a fine exhibition of Indian agility and cunning"<sup>43</sup> was witnessed by the huge crowd of interested onlookers. As they travelled through Scotland and England it was apparent that the advance publicity<sup>44</sup> was paying dividends as they were met by

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40. Roxborough, One Hundred, p. 42.

41. B.W. Collison and John K. Munro, "Lacrosse in Canada," The Canadian Magazine, XIX, No. 5, (September, 1902), p. 414.

42. Ibid., p. 413; and The Montreal Gazette, April 29, 1876.

43. Ibid., May 23, 1876.

44. The London Illustrated News, October 16, 1875.

enthusiastic spectators at each venue.<sup>45</sup> Typical of their exhibitions was the four game contest at Hurlingham in London, where play was halted after each team had secured two victories, to allow the Indians to dance the Mohawk version of the "Green Corn Dance". At its conclusion "...the Indians faced the Royal party [the Duke of Connaught and the Duke and Duchess of Teck] and their chief...doffing his head dress of feathers, made an impromptu oration in his native dialect."<sup>46</sup>

Although the most financially successful match of the tour was played at the rent-free Oval before four thousand spectators, the one that subsequently captured the attention of the press occurred on June 26 at Windsor Castle. Here the two teams played before Queen Victoria, Princess Beatrice and the Royal Household on the lawn in front of the east terrace. Following the game the Caughnawaga captain, Baptiste, attired in full tribal regalia, placed his tomahawk on the ground in front of the Queen as a sign of submission, presented Her Majesty with a basket (supplied by Beers) and addressed her in his own tongue by reading from "a curiously illuminated scroll of birch bark mounted on blue silk, with a deep fringe and with rosettes of blue ribbon".<sup>47</sup> The Queen graciously presented Baptiste with a special medal and each player with a signed photograph of herself before entertaining them in the castle.<sup>48</sup> She was to record her impressions of the game as being "...very pretty to watch!"<sup>49</sup> It is interesting to note that Baptiste later revealed that he did not wish to address Victoria; however, because Beers had hired him he was obligated to do so.<sup>50</sup>

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45. The Field Magazine, June 10, 1876.

46. The Montreal Gazette, June 12, 1876.

47. Ibid., July 12, 1876.

48. Country News and Chronicle, June 30, 1876.

49. The Letters of Queen Victoria, second series, Volume 2 (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1926.)

50. Montreal Evening Star, July 14, 1876.

Several more highly successful exhibitions were given in England before the troupe returned to Canada where they were welcomed by large crowds. There is no doubt that in terms of Beers' objectives the tour had been highly successful, due in large measure to the skill and "saleability" of the Caughnawaga Indians. However, and perhaps not unexpectedly, the success of the trip was credited to Beers and the Montreal Lacrosse Club!

The following November the same two teams travelled to Westchester Polo Club, Newport, Rhode Island, to demonstrate lacrosse for pleasure of the socialites who frequented that exclusive resort.<sup>51</sup> The next year saw Caughnawaga athletes return to this club for two days of exhibition matches before travelling to Portland, Maine, to play the Montreal Club before 10,000 onlookers at that city's annual fair. The Caughnawaga team was on the road once more in 1878, when they played exhibition matches against a team of Onondaga Indians each day of a New York lacrosse tournament and again in 1881, when they met and were defeated by the Union Lacrosse Club, before 20,000 United States spectators.<sup>52</sup>

While the Indian players were undoubtedly the drawcards on these trips, they frequently found themselves witnessing, rather than participating in international matches. When the Shamrock Lacrosse Club toured the United States in 1871, the accompanying Caughnawaga travelled simply as "sparring partners" for the Montreal club. Although thousands of handbills were distributed throughout New York State proclaiming that their exhibitions were to determine "the Championship of the World, Irish vs. Indian!",<sup>53</sup> when American clubs were to be played, it was the Shamrocks who took the field. A similar situation occurred when Beers returned to Great Britain

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51. The Montreal Gazette, August 17, 1876.

52. Weyand and Roberts, The Lacrosse Story, p. 33-58.

53. The Montreal Gazette, August 30, 1871.

in the spring of 1883 accompanied by the "Canadian Lacrosse Team" (composed of fifteen Montreal and Toronto Lacrosse Club players) and thirteen Caughnawaga Indians. The natives, although they played a total of sixty-one exhibition matches (452 games) against the "Canadian" team in Maine, Scotland, England, Ireland and Canada,<sup>54</sup> were not invited to compete in any of the thirty-seven scheduled international games--this honour fell to their white travelling companions. The value of the native player on this type of trip obviously lay more in his appeal to the spectators as an Indian, than in his ability as an athlete. This is evident from a comment following an exhibition before Royalty on June 15, 1883: "the people were sorely disappointed in the appearance of the Indians. The latter played in neat well-cut uniforms...and wore no feathers or war paint."<sup>55</sup> Although the Indian was no longer the attraction he once was in North America, he was apparently still considered something of a novelty abroad. It is interesting to note that throughout the 10,646 miles of the tour, the "Canadian Lacrosse Team" enjoyed the luxury of first class accommodation while their dusky opponents travelled third class<sup>56</sup>--an arrangement clearly reflecting a master/hired-hand relationship. Despite this arrangement the travelling expenses and salaries of the Indians were such that the tour was financially unsuccessful.<sup>57</sup> Beers, nationalist and opportunist that he was, distributed unbeknown to British officials an estimated

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54. MacKenzie, "Lacrosse," p. 78.

55. Weyand and Roberts, The Lacrosse Story, p. 105.

56. Alan Metcalfe, "Historical Insights into the Relationship between Sport and Ethnicity," A paper presented at the Symposium on Sport and Society, Queen's College, Flushing, New York, March 10-12, 1972, p. 5.

57. MacKenzie, "Lacrosse," p. 79.

twenty-five tons of literature during the course of the group's travels--literature that extolled the glories of Manitoba and outlined the advantages of beginning life anew there.<sup>58</sup> The good doctor, in his self-appointed role as "special aide to the Minister of Immigration," was clearly capitalizing on the publicity given this and preceding tours, the rugged beauty of Canada's "National Game," and the artistry and flair of its players--white and red alike.

During the latter part of the Nineteenth Century the rift continued to widen between the professional Indian lacrosse players and the amateur governing bodies. While isolated troupes of Indians continued to tour the continent playing exhibitions at local and county fairs,<sup>59</sup> those who had hitherto been involved in competitive play found themselves without opponents, and their presence no longer required for promotional tours. The door of Caucasian lacrosse was closing on the professional Indian. By the end of the first decade of the Twentieth Century it was virtually shut when the newly formed National Professional Lacrosse Union rejected a Caughnawaga bid for membership,<sup>60</sup> and the formation of a proposed professional Indian league brought about by this rejection, ended in failure. Although the native athlete was to successfully seek entrance into amateur lacrosse circles during the Twentieth Century, the days of monied matches, war paint and feathers, "World Championships" and promotional junkets were gone. The Indian was no longer needed -- Lacrosse had come of age.

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58. The Field Magazine, June 28, 1884.

59. Reuben G. Thwaites, "The Wisconsin Winnebagoes," Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Vol. XII (Madison: State Printers, 1892), p. 427; and H.H. Allingham, "Lacrosse in the Maritime Provinces," Dominion Illustrated Monthly, I, No. 4 (May, 1892), p. 228.

60. Edmonton Bulletin, May 2, 1911.

There is no doubt that the skill and primitive appeal of the native lacrosse player was sought and employed in a variety of ways by the Caucasian during the latter half of the Nineteenth Century. Generally speaking the Anglo-entrepreneur used the native athlete for one of two reasons--for promotional purposes and/or for material gain.

Race tracks and baseball organizations endeavoured to promote their activities (and thus boost attendance and gate receipts) by hosting Indian lacrosse exhibitions on their premises, while private clubs and resorts utilized the same resources to appease their patrons and advance their programmes and institutions. White lacrosse enthusiasts sought to promote "their" game by arranging for Indian demonstrations to be staged prior to, or during, important lacrosse tournaments, as a part of fund raising ventures, and in the presence of various dignitaries. The inclusion of native teams on international tours was considered essential for publicity and financial reasons during the two decades following Confederation. And finally, it seems apparent that the colourfulness of the native and the uniqueness of his game were deliberately used to promote the Dominion abroad and to foster nationalism at home.<sup>61</sup> On another level were the European sponsored native troupes who travelled from community to community to participate in "Indian Festivals," or to stage "spectacular displays of traditional Indian activities and contests" for the enjoyment of the paying customer.

On the other side of the coin was the native athlete who, in return for services rendered, received remuneration in one form or another. While the amounts may not have been substantial, they undoubtedly found a welcome place in the native coffer. Further,

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61. Peter L. Lindsay, "George Beers and the National Game Concept-- A Behavioral Approach," Proceedings of the Second Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, Ottawa: Department of Health and Welfare, 1972, p. 27-44.

the opportunity to earn money through lacrosse was probably considered a far more attractive proposition than attempting to extract it from the soil. Exhibition tours, whether local or abroad, afforded a luxury otherwise beyond the reach of the average Indian. These trips, together with challenge matches at home, led to closer contact with certain elements of white society and if nothing else, at least earned the Indian the grudging respect of the Caucasian players who happened to oppose him.

Thus while there were obviously some short term pay-offs for the Indian, in the long haul it was the European who stood to gain the most from native involvement in lacrosse. The white man reaped, for as long as possible, whatever dividends he was able, by exploiting the skills of the Indian and his saleability at the box-office. As time dulled the novelty of the gaudily painted-befeathered-whooping native player, and as his abilities on the field were equalled or surpassed by his white opponents, the Indian was gradually shunted aside and his game taken over completely by the Caucasian.

Just as we claim as Canadian the rivers and lakes and land once owned exclusively by Indians, so we now claim their field game as the national field game of our Dominion. - W.G. Beers (The Montreal Gazette, August 8, 1867.)

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